Workers of the World, Unite !

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Pittsburgh Civil Rights Violated in Rising Witch-Hunt

PITTSBURGH, March 12 — The witch-hunt hysteria which has been deliberately built up here for the last three weeks and in which the Hearst and Scripps-Howard papers have played a leading part, came to a head yesterday when a police squad, headed by an "under-cover" FBI agent, staged a raid on the headquarters of a travel agency and confiscated files of the American Slav Congress and other Stalinist front organizations who allegedly met there.

The "under-cover" FBI agent is one George Dietze, well-heeled local jeweler and a gentleman of some standing in the exclusive residential district of Mount Lebanon. He had posed as a CP member for the last 10 years, but apparently confined his activities to renting his business offices, wired to record all discussions, to party committees.

Dietze testified before the House Un-American Committee that he had applied to the FBI for a job as informer out of a long-standing hatred of communism and his distaste for communists prevented him from mingling intimately with local party members. The pressure of public opinion in upper class Mt. Lebanon, Dietze admitted, had been too much for him.

He is the second stoolpigeon uncovered in recent weeks among the Stalinists here. The other is Matthew Cvetic, notorious in local Slav circles as a leading Stalinist for several years. Cvetic unveiled himself as an FBI agent on Feb. 18 before the House Un-American Committee.

Cvetic boasted that he had not only fooled such leading figures as Roy Hudson and district organizer Steve Nelson, but that even his immediate family and best personal friends considered him an ardent Communist.

Cvetic's revelations — and later Dietze's — were seized upon in sensational headlines by the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press. These papers immediately began publishing the names of 146 persons fingered by Cvetic as active local CP members, stating their place of work, home addresses and party activities. They promised to list others as Cvetic released them from the files he stole from the CP here.

INDICTMENTS SOUGHT

The newspapers have spared no pains in an effort to create an atmosphere of fear and hate. Simultaneous with the March 10 raid, County Court Judge Gunther and a local lawyer named Sherman have started "action" to indict local Stalinist leaders on criminal charges of sedition and conspiracy. This demand was front-paged by the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette on March 11.

Typical of the cynicism with

(Continued on page 4)

General Motors Rakes in World's Biggest Profits

General Motors Corporation last year raked in the greatest profits ever squeezed out of its workers by any corporation in the world.

GM's report, made public on March 13, reveals that in 1949 its net profits after taxes were $656,434,232 — a 49% increase over the previous record year of 1948. This represents an admitted 11.5% profit on sales. The report does not disclose the profit in relation to invested capital — the basis on which profits are figured for tax purposes.

Ten days previously, the Chrysler Corporation, whose workers are on strike for a 10-cent pension plan, reported its greatest profits — $132,170,096 in 1949 compared with $89,187,240 in 1948.

Last month GM announced it was cutting the hourly wages of its production workers by two cents in accordance with the sliding scale cost-of-living wage contract which UAW President Walter Reuther signed in May 1948.

(See article on Page 2 on the experiences of the GM workers with Reuther's sliding-scale contract.)

Stalinists Expel Member for Opposing Anti-SWP Violence

By John Black

SEATTLE — The Northwest edition of the West Coast **People's World** on Feb. 24 announced the expulsion of Foster Williams, a young Negro student and worker, "as a Trotskyite, police-spy and disrupter."

Williams ran foul of the Stalinist bureaucrats for having spoken up against goon squad tactics used by them against a group of Socialist Workers Party members who were distributing literature at the Lenin Memorial Meeting of the CP. Thereupon, his organizer came up to him and told him, "Comrade Williams, you are suspended." He was then ordered to leave the meeting. The first notice he had of his expulsion was the smear article in the People's World.

This article says that "parading as a student, this traitor spread Trotskyite lies about the Communist Party, its leadership and the Soviet Union. In particular he tried to disrupt Negro-white unity and to penetrate progressive youth organizations with his poison. Most recently he was exposed in a deliberate Trotskyite provocation aimed at disrupting the Lenin memorial meeting in Seattle."

It also charges that "in addition it is conclusively established that Williams is a stool-pigeon and police spy of long standing whose activities included gathering information for the police and their Trotskyite agents."

WILLIAMS' REPLY

Williams, educational director of his branch and chairman of his YPA chapter, has issued a public statement on his expulsion. He was also able to bring his case to public atention through a front page interview with a reporter for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

In explaining the real causes that led to his expulsion, Williams told the reporter that he still believes in Marxist theory of Communism but not in the policy of Stalin. He is quoted as stating that the American Stalinists are "always screaming about their rights being violated but they are the most despotic bunch of people you could meet anywhere."

The full text of his statement follows:

"MALICIOUS SLANDER"

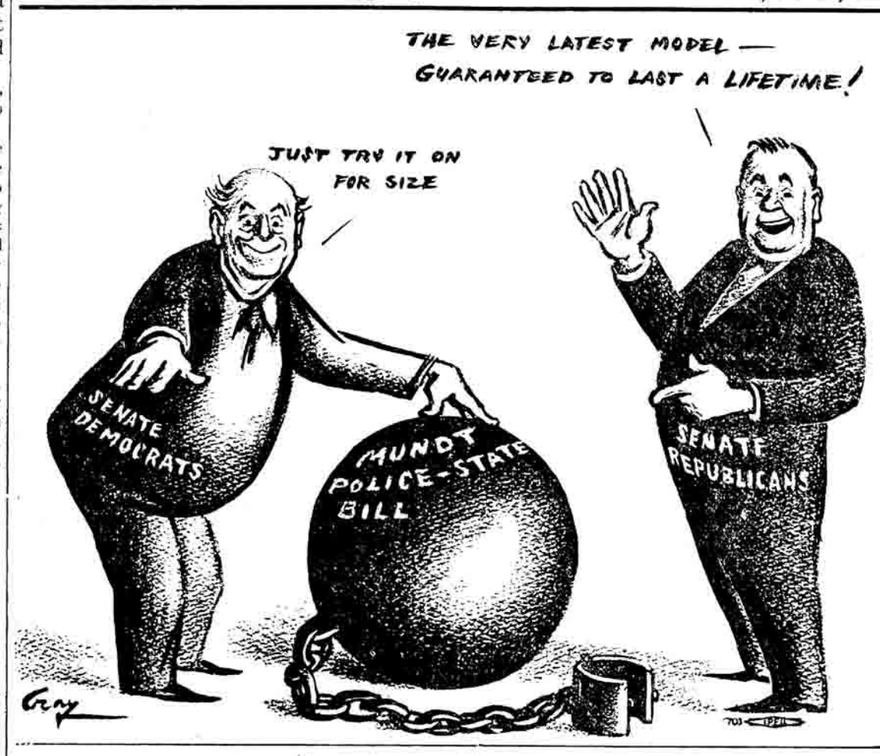
"I brand as malicious slander the accusation of the Stalinist leaders of the Communist Party that I am a police informer operating in the labor and progressive movement and a disrupter of Negro-white unity. This kind of accusation is the usual kind of name calling that the Stalinist leaders use against members of the Communist Party who venture to express differences of opinion with official party policy.

"My expulsion from the Communist Party arose over the fact that I defended the rights of the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists, who are working class opponents of the Communist Party, to distribute their literature on the street outside of a Communist party meeting. The Stalinists call the Trotskyists police spies. I believe that that also is a slander.

"At the Lenin Memorial meeting on Jan. 29, the party leaders sent out a goon squad of about twenty men to prevent three or four members of the Socialist Workers Party from giving out literature. One of the people in the goon squad assaulted one of the women distributors and tore the literature out of her hands. The literature consisted of an announcement of a Socialist Workers Party forum on the Negro question.

"I spoke up against the goon squad because I am opposed to the use of violence as a means of settling differences of opinion inside the labor and progressive movement. I favor democratic procedures.

"I challenge the leaders of the Communist Party to bring forward any evidence to back their claim that I am an informer for the police or a disrupter of Negro-white unity. If they don't bring forward their evidence, let them stand exposed for the liars that they really are."



Petitions Filed For Bohannan In New Jersey

NEWARK, March 14 — The Socialist Workers Party last week filed the necessary petitions to place William E. Bohannan on the ballot as its candidate for Congress from New Jersey's 11th District in the 1950 elections.

"We expect this to be the most effective electoral campaign for revolutionary socialism that our party has ever conducted in New Jersey," said George Breitman, campaign manager for Bohannan. "The political conditions are ripe for such a campaign, and both our candidate and party are getting ready to give the capitalist parties a run for their money."

When petitions were filed last week, it was learned that there will be only three candidates in the 11th District congressional race next November — the incumbent Fair Deal Democrat, Hugh J. Addonizio; a Republican who will be selected from three contestants in next month's primary election; and Bohannan.

PP, SP ABSTAIN

The Progressive Party did not enter a candidate although it ran one in 1948 and has a larger membership in this district than the SWP. This abstention is in line with the 1950 Wallaceite policy of avoiding electoral struggles in most districts where Trumanites are now in office.

The Socialist Party also failed to nominate a candidate in this district — or in any other of the state's 14 congressional districts. This is the first time in many decades that the SP will not enter its own ticket. The SP is now engaged in discussing a proposal to withdraw from virtually all independent electoral activity. But it evidently is not waiting until its national convention in the spring to put the new policy into effect — as its abstention in New Jersey and Michigan proves.

In 1948 Addonizio was elected with 52,644 votes; his Republican opponent got 50,920; the Wallaceite 3,088; Bohannan 2,387; the Prohibition candidate 864; and the SP 413.

SWP PICKS CANDIDATES FOR CAMPAIGN IN PENN.

By J. Minuit

PHILADELPHIA, March 12 — Socialist Workers Party candidates for U. S. Senator and Governor were named today at a conference here of delegates from all Pennsylvania branches of the SWP.

Clyde Turner accepted the nomination as the party's banner bearer for the Senate. Herbert Lewin was nominated for the gubernatorial candidacy. They will campaign on a program of revolutionary socialism.

Comrade Turner will be the first woman ever to run for a U. S. Senatorship from Pennsylvania and the first Negro candidate for that office since Reconstruction days. She told the state delegates in her acceptance speech:

"I look upon this campaign which we have embarked upon as an opportunity for the party to cut through the double-talk of the capitalist 'friends of labor' and 'friends of the Negroes'."

Lewin will carry the campaign to the Pennsylvania workers not as an outside "sympathizer" with their problems but as a well-known union militant who daily faces the same problems in his own life. In accepting the nomination for governor, he said:

"This is not a campaign in support of individuals, as it is with the capitalist parties, but a campaign for socialism."

The delegates heard a report on Pennsylvania politics by H. Oliver, of Philadelphia, who pointed out the exceptional opportunities that have opened up for the SWP in the coming election. He made a devastating exposure of the records of the Democratic and Republican candidates as compared to their phony claims to being "friends of labor and minorities."

THE STATE ISSUES

He showed the bankruptcy of the other parties on such major state issues of the campaign as the state civil rights law, the miserable and unjust relief laws, the anti-labor judicial system, the outrageous taxes, the shameful Workmen's Compensation Law, which is the worst of any state except Mississippi, which has none at all.

Michael Bartell, New York SWP organizer, was a guest speaker. "Socialism will be in this campaign from beginning to end," he told the delegates. "And while the Democrats and Progressives are busy denying the Republican charges of 'socialism,' we will vigorously point out that in this one respect they are telling the truth, that their bankrupt programs have nothing in common with the struggle for a socialist society." While other so-called "radical" parties are surrendering on the electoral front, "our party is forging ahead — winning for ourselves the name of the party of socialism."

The delegates from all parts of the state described the favorable conditions in their areas for a rousing campaign and mapped out a program of campaign action.

CIO Hits Mundt Bill As "Totalitarian"

The CIO has joined in the widespread opposition to the Mundt-Ferguson police-state bill, which was recently approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee with the support of Trumanite Senators. Nathan Cowan, CIO legislative director, said the bill would confer on the FBI "the power of life and death over all organizations." He said, "Under this bill, organizations would be judged not on the basis of their acts but on their beliefs. Such thought-control is totalitarian, not democratic."

Murray Turns Down United Defense Pact

30,000 Attend Ceylon Meeting Of Trotskyists

A huge mass meeting of 30,000 was held at Colombo, Ceylon, on Feb. 4 under the joint auspices of the two Trotskyist organizations who are now negotiating a merger.

Despite the organization by the government of another public meeting scheduled simultaneously in order to create a diversion, thousands of people came from all parts of the country to swell the attendance, all of them enthused by the prospect of the unification of the Trotskyist organizations.

The mass meeting was chaired by Comrade N. M. Perera. Among the speakers were Leslie Goonawardena (Tilak) and Colvin R. de Silva, both of whom urged speedy unification.

The organizations involved are the Bolshevik Samasamaja Party and the Lanka Samasamaja Party, who hold seven seats in the Ceylon Parliament. In the recent municipal elections they won five seats in the Colombo Council and one of them was elected Deputy Mayor.

Never before in the last few years have the Ceylonese workers demonstrated with such enthusiasm their solidarity with the Trotskyist organizations. The unification platform was defended by all the speakers. Following this meeting, there were to be noted unquestionable signs of demoralization among the Stalinists who had been banking on a split in Trotskyist ranks.

Mass Meeting in Colombo

Shown above is part of the audience of 30,000 who assembled from all sections of Ceylon to attend the Trotskyist mass meeting at Colombo on Feb. 4, called by the two Trotskyist organizations who are in process of negotiating the unification of their forces.

Brushes Off Lewis' Proposal For "Mutual Aid" in Strikes

Philip Murray, president of the CIO and the United Steel Workers, on March 9 stated that "no useful purpose would be served by concluding" a common defense pact between the steel union and the United Mine Workers, as proposed by UMW President John L. Lewis.

Murray's off-hand rejection of Lewis' proposal, which could lay the basis for indispensable joint action by all labor against the combined attacks of the corporations and their political agents, will certainly astound many steel workers in particular.

They can best realize what failure to attain such mutual defense up to now has cost them. Last fall the steel workers fought for six long weeks on the picket lines to gain a picayune pension plan. Had they joined forces with the striking miners against their common enemy, the steel corporations, the steel workers and the miners together would have bowled over the companies in record time and both would have won far more substantial gains.

"USEFUL PURPOSE"

The Chrysler strikers, now in the eighth week of their prolonged struggle, and the General Motors workers, facing a new fight with the most powerful industrial corporation in the world, aren't so ready to assign "no useful purpose" to a "mutual aid" pact with the coal miners, who have once again demonstrated their fighting capacities and power to win victories.

Lewis suggested a "mutual aid pact for common defense" in strikes, with other unions being

PHILIP MURRAY

asked to join in. He offered this as an answer to the idea "increasingly prevalent in industrial and financial circles that our great industrial unions should be attacked and crippled, one by one."

WHAT LEWIS MEANS

Murray answers Lewis with the false claim that the CIO "will always make its resources available, as it did in your recent struggle, for every necessary and worthy defense of organized labor." No, the belated and limited aid the CIO members forced the CIO leaders to offer the miners in the ninth month of their struggle is not at all the equivalent of what Lewis proposes. He proposes to confront the corporations in advance of any major labor struggle with the sure knowledge that if they don't grant the unions' just demands they will face from the start the joint power of the greatest unions.

Murray claims he sees "no useful purpose" in thus defending the interests of labor against the monopolies and their government tools. But he does see a "useful purpose" in joining with the AFL and reactionary labor leaders of the Marshall Plan countries in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to swing European labor into the camp of American imperialism. Murray also finds a "useful purpose" in forming political alliances with the AFL bureaucrats to back capitalist party candidates in the 1950 elections.

WHAT HE FEARS

But the biggest reason Murray opposes Lewis' proposal is that he is against militant union action, joint or otherwise. He fears such a move as Lewis proposes will inspire the fighting spirit of the rank and file in every union. He wants to cling to his dirty political alliance with the Truman Democrats and "defend" the unions by reliance on the White House.

The miners have just proved again that the way to win real gains for labor is by reliance on the workers' independent strength and solidarity in action. And the way to achieve this best is in the spirit of Lewis' proposal.

Let all the unions get together in a United Congress of Labor to formulate a program of joint action. Let elected representatives of the rank and file discuss and draft and set in motion a practical and feasible plan for mutual aid and defense. Labor would then represent such a power that it could smash the Taft-Hartley Act, defeat the conspiracy of the corporations to bust the unions "one at a time" and go on to win anything it desires.

Big-Money Finances Democratic Machine

By Joseph Keller

Who owns the Democratic Party? The current issue of The Machinist, publication of the International Association of Machinists, carries a list of 78 big-money boys who in 1949 contributed from $2,000 to $5,000 each to the coffers of the Democratic National Committee.

These 78 individuals who make the biggest contributions to the Democratic Party nationally include some of the richest tycoons and labor-haters in the country, manufacturers, liquor distillers and dealers, motion picture producers, aircraft corporation executives, etc.

Even the Republican Party, admitted to be capitalist-controlled, shows up like a poor relation compared to the Democratic Party. The Republican National Committee could count similar contributions from only 20 individuals.

The Democratic Party was favored not only by more big contributors, but with bigger total contributions than the Republican Party. The Democratic National Committee reported total donations of $1,394,263 as against the GOP's $260,445.

No union officials are included in the list of big donors of either party. They prefer to spend the money of the union members to keep the capitalist political machines in operation, particularly the Democratic Party, which they continue to palm off as 'labor's party.'

WHY THEY SHELL OUT

The Machinist explains that it is publishing the list of big-money supporters of the two parties "so that union members may know who is putting up the big money to help finance our major political parties."

But the paper draws the conclusion that the list doesn't signify that the Democratic Party is a bought-and-paid-for instrument of Big Business. It claims that "apparently a lot of businessmen now think the Fair Deal program is good for business" as well as for labor.

This is to say that hard-headed and tight-fisted business men are laying cold cash on the line because they believe in Truman's "Fair Deal" demagogy the way some of the union leaders do. No, they're shelling out the big dough for the Democratic Party because they believe it is the only party that can fool the workers with "Fair Deal" promises, keep labor from building a party of its own and retain political power for the capitalist class.

Of course, what The Machinist reports is nothing new. The Democratic Party, like the Republican, has always been financed by Big Business and has always been a capitalist party. Today, however, the financial hold of the capitalists on the Democratic Party is becoming so conspicuous that it is embarrassing the union leaders.

EMBARRASSING QUESTIONS

How can they continue to go around misrepresenting the Democratic Party as an "ally of labor," or even merely a "lesser evil," when that party boasts a list of big contributors that reads like a "Who's Who in Wall Street?" They've been blaming the failure of Truman to live up to his "Fair Deal" promises solely on the opposition of the Republicans and Dixiecrats. "How about the opposition of the big capitalists who grease the wheels of the Democratic Party and keep the Democratic politicians in folding money?" the workers will ask when they read the list of Democratic Party contributors.

It is important to note that the large line-up of big money in the Democratic camp occurred in the very year, 1949, when Truman was being ding-donged by the capitalist press as a veritable "socialist" and just after he obtained office primarily through the labor vote.

In the light of who pays the freight of the Democratic Party, those union leaders who talk about labor "taking over" the Democratic Party sound pretty soft-brained. The capitalists don't have to "take over" the Democratic Party — they have it. And they're spending the kind of money that shows they intend to keep it.

Labor won't get any deal except a raw deal, until it quits kidding itself about the Democratic Party being the "poor man's party" or one that can be "reformed" in labor's image. The only kind of party that will defend labor's interests will be a party built, financed, run and controlled by the workers themselves.

European Notebook

Toward A Dictatorial State In Western Europe?

By Ernest Germain

The retention of a slight Laborite majority in the new British Parliament retards to some extent the evolution toward a dictatorial state in Western Europe. Several developments in recent weeks, however, tend to center the political spotlight on this evolution.

The "Scandal of the Generals," reported in the main by the world press, has greatly discredited most of the bourgeois-democratic figures and parties in France. It seems evident that this scandal was organized by de Gaullist elements, and it is not even excluded that the key figure of the scandal, the crook Robert Peyre, may be a direct agent of the de Gaullists. The publication of the correspondence of this crook, now in flight to Latin America, demonstrated that the topmost figures of the Fourth Republic, including the chief of the army general staff, the minister of National Defense and even the president of the National Assembly, were intimately involved with Peyre, asking small favors from him as if he were an all-powerful personage.

The profound corruption of the milieu of professional politicians in France has become a sort of tradition. The Third Republic had its Stavisky scandal exploited directly by the fascists in 1934. The Fourth Republic now has its "Scandal of the Generals" exploited by General de Gaulle who parades as the only "clean" figure among all those rotten parties. Thus, an atmosphere is being created for a parliamentary combination which would provide a bridge for de Gaulle's return to power. Is it not rumored that the President of the Council, Georges Bidault, head of the right wing of the MRP which played a leading role in bringing the scandal out into the open, maintains secret connections with his ex-chieftain de Gaulle and does not act without his consent?

IN WESTERN GERMANY

Western Germany has been in recent months the scene of several political and judicial incidents which showed plain as day how high reaction is raising its head. A rightist deputy in the Federal Assembly, Hedler, was acquitted in court after insulting the Social Democratic leaders, in exile after 1933, as "traitors." In Munich, this notorious laboratory of all prefascist and neo-Nazi adventurers, a demagogue Feitenhansl leads an organization named "Patriotic Union" which has the same organizational structure as the old Nazi party and lays public claim to the Hitlerite tradition.

In the Bonn parliament occur repeated incidents following the efforts of the Presidium to stifle the opposition voice of the Social Democrats. And recently, one of the German trade union leaders denounced the fact that in the chancellory of President Adenauer there are: a certain Dr. Globke, who was a co-author of the Nuremberg racist laws; a certain Dr. Kutscher, editor of theses on methods of exterminating the Jews; and Dr. Behncke, author of the revised penal disciplinary code under the Nazis.

BELGIAN PLEBISCITE

Belgium witnesses these days a referendum on Leopold III, the authoritarian and overtly antiparliamentarian king, in whose entourage pronounced partisans of a dictatorial state were active during the Nazi occupation, as for instance his personal secretary, Count Capelle, and the former chief of staff of the Belgian army, General Van Overstraeten. The struggle taking shape around this "consultation of the people," which will formally permit Parliament to decide whether to allow the king to resume his constitutional functions, has become transformed into a veritable battle over whether it was right or wrong to have resisted Nazi imperialism during the second World War.

The principal bourgeois party of the country, the Catholic Party, which is at the same time the only one in favor of Leopold III's return to the throne, has made itself attorney for all the politicians and industrialists who "stuck to their posts" during the war, that is, who amassed immense fortunes through collaboration with the Nazis. The Belgian bourgeoisie hopes to achieve by the return of Leopold to the throne not only an intensified anti-labor policy and anti-strike legislation, but even the release of the principal fascist leaders sentenced at the time of "liberation."

ITALIAN TRENDS

There has been a similar tendency in the evolution of Italian domestic politics. The farcical trial of Marshal Graziani as leader of the armed forces of Mussolini's fascist republic, a man responsible for the martyrdom of tens of thousands of anti-fascist fighters, is in its final stages, about to end with such a slight penalty that this eminent hangman will soon be at liberty. Discussions over limitations on the right of government officials and employees to strike are at present taking place between the representatives of the parties composing the government coalition. And voices have been raised for the outlawing of the Stalinist party—demands which the sinister Scelba, Minister of the Interior, refused to categorically reject in his Feb. 26 interview with foreign newspapermen.

STALINIST POLICY

The adventurist policy now pursued by the Stalinist parties in Western Europe favors to a great degree the tendency toward setting up of dictatorial states. "Rotating strikes" organized by the Stalinists and ending invariably in defeats for the workers antagonize wide layers of the petty bourgeoisie who demand that law and order be re-established once for all. The strikes and political demonstrations which the Stalinists are currently organizing against the Atlantic Pact and the war in Indo-China take such extreme forms as acts of military sabotage, assaults on munitions trains by "shock squads" and even destruction of shipments considered "suspicious" by Stalinist leaders.

Obviously any bourgeois state which strives to maintain itself for several years to come — and no one should believe that the bourgeoisie of Western Europe is ready to abdicate without fiercely defending its class privileges! — cannot tolerate such demonstrations without risking its own destruction. There is thus a curious and dangerous parallel between the aims of the bourgeoisie and Stalinist policy. By their maneuverist and bureaucratic policy, which fails to correspond to the actual interests and aspirations of the toilers, the Stalinists create the atmosphere favorable to a coup by authoritarian tendencies among the bourgeoisie and paralyze simultaneously the capacity of the working class to resist.

Don't Wait for the

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All humanity may perish in another war. This terrible warning of the atomic scientists means that we must start action right now or meet our doom.

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Poised for Crackdown on Strikers

Policeman draws his gun as members of the CIO Steelworkers picket American Snuff Co. plant in Memphis, where violence has marked two-month strike. The strikers are demanding 30c hourly pay boost, retroactive to last October, and dues checkoff.

LABOR TASKS ANALYZED BY COCHRAN IN BOSTON

BOSTON, March 10 — Bert Cochran, chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, in a speech here described the possibilities of the development of a new left-wing in the American labor movement. The victory of the reactionary Murray and Reuther machines and their success in bureaucratizing the CIO are temporary trends which will be overturned in the coming economic crisis, he stated.

Cochran showed how the union leaders have subordinated the interests of the working people to the policies of the State Department. "The trade union bureaucrats have utilized the fight with the Stalinists to saddle their own machines on the membership, stifle all rank and file criticism, and tie the labor movement to the cold war policies of Wall Street and Washington," he said.

All hopes of persuading the present top leadership of the trade unions to follow a progressive, anti-capitalist course are illusory, he warned. It is necessary for militant members of the unions to start building a movement based on a socialist program and educating the ranks in preparation for the next upsurge of the labor movement.

Cochran's Tour

Following is the schedule for Bert Cochran's national tour on "The Outlook for Labor":

Detroit	March	20-25
Milwaukee	"	28
Chicago	"	29-31
Minneapolis-St. Paul	Apr.	1-4
Seattle	"	5-8
San Francisco-Oakland	"	9-12
Los Angeles	"	15-20
St. Louis	"	22
Cleveland	"	23-24
Akron	"	25
Youngstown	"	26-27
Pittsburgh	"	28
New York	"	30
"	May	1
Philadelphia	"	2-3
Newark	"	6

How GM Sliding Scale Worked Out

By Art Preis

This month, for the first time since the CIO United Auto Workers signed the sliding-scale cost-of-living wage contract with General Motors in May 1948, the GM workers are getting a net cut in wage rates due to the operations of the sliding-scale clause. Two preceding cuts under the clause had merely cancelled out the three-cent gain made in Sept. 1948 when the cost-of-living index rose. The latest two-cent cut, effective from March 1 to May 29 when the present two-year contract expires, brings the total of sliding-scale cuts to five cents, or two cents more than the total gain.

The way the GM sliding-scale clause has worked out undoubtedly will put in a bad light the whole concept of the sliding scale of wages, which progressive unionists have advocated as the most immediately effective method of protecting real wages in periods of rapid price rises. It would be most unfortunate, however, if the workers shun this effective weapon during inflation because of the unfavorable experience with the defective sliding-scale contract which UAW President Walter Reuther accepted in GM.

A PROTECTIVE CLAUSE

From the beginning of wartime inflation, **The Militant** strongly advocated the inclusion of protective clauses in wage contracts to keep wages automatically in line with all rises in living costs. As we carefully explained, such sliding-scale clauses should be written so as not to affect in any way the basic wage scales. It was necessary to fight constantly for higher basic wages and at the same time to make sure that these higher wage rates would not suffer hidden cuts due to inflationary price rises. **The sliding-scale clause was proposed not as a substitute for, but a supplement and protection to basic wage increases.**

During the eight-year period of wartime and postwar inflation, Reuther bitterly fought our concept of the sliding wage scale. He was joined in this by the Stalinists and others of the most conservative and reactionary elements in the union leadership who put forward the nonsensical "roll-back-of-prices" program. But in May 1948, when the GM workers faced a possibly bitter struggle with the corporation for basic wage increases to close the huge gap between wages and prices, Reuther threw out the wage demands voted by the GM workers and accepted in their place a sliding-scale proposition offered by the company.

As **The Militant** pointed out at the time, this company-designed clause, put forward as a substitute for the basic wage increases to which the workers were entitled, differed in fundamental respects from the kind of sliding scale which the GM militants themselves were demanding.

WHAT REUTHER ACCEPTED

What the GM workers sought was a 25-cent an hour basic wage increase to bring wages in line with previous rises in the cost of living. GM militants had proposed, in addition, a cost-of-living sliding-scale bonus to provide for automatic and proportional wage increases above the basic scale to meet price rises during the life of the contract. They also demanded the traditional short-term, one-year contract so that they could renew the fight for higher basic wages as soon as possible.

Reuther's contract, however, provided for only a six-cent increase in the basic wage rate, while the Chrysler contract, for instance, provided for a 13-cent flat increase. Another five cents was added to the GM rate as a cost-of-living increase, making the total 11 cents. The sliding-scale clause then provided that the wage rate could go up or down from this 11 cents, to be adjusted on the basis of the rise or decline in the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index every three months, but cuts could not total more than five cents. On top of this, Reuther signed a long-term two-year contract.

MAJOR DEFECTS

Thus Reuther's contract was defective in a number of vital points. 1. It provided a basic wage that was seven cents an hour less than that secured by the Chrysler and Ford workers. 2. The sliding scale was introduced not at the beginning or in the midst of the inflation, but at the very end, when all the signs pointed to a period of declining prices — a factor that the company foresaw better than Reuther. It was a contract that tied the workers' hands for a long period. 3. And it was based on the government's cost-of-living index which is doctored to conceal the real rises in living costs.

With this kind of contract, as The Militant pointed out on May 31, 1948, the GM sliding-scale clause might work out to the disadvantage of the GM workers in the long run. "Naturally, in negotiating a sliding-scale contract, the workers must be wary of such 'gimmicks' as have been incorporated into the GM contract. In taking over the wage program of the UAW progressives, the Reutherites have distorted it and left out the safeguards which the progressives have always included in their sliding-scale program," The Militant said.

HOW IT WORKED

An examination of the actual operations of Reuther's admittedly defective GM contract reveals the surprising fact that for most of its duration it has maintained a one-cent higher wage increase for GM workers than the other auto workers got in May 1948.

In September 1948, three months after the contract was signed, the GM workers got a three-cent sliding-scale increase, bringing their total increase to 14 cents, a cent more than the flat increase won by the Chrysler and Ford workers. This continued for six months. In March 1949, when the government's living-cost index fell, the GM wage rate was cut two cents, but still providing a cent more than the 11-cent original increase. In June 1949, it was cut another cent, thus cancelling out the first three-cent rise. But since the GM contract also provided for a further three-cent "improvement" raise in the basic wage rate in the same month, the total wage increase for GM workers remained at 14 cents until this month. Even with the latest two-cent cut, it is still a cent higher than the original raise.

During the first 21 months of the operations of the GM sliding scale, on a 40-hour week basis the increases due to the sliding scale totalled $36.40. Now, however, the sliding scale represents a net loss of two cents an hour, which will total $10.40 for the period from March 1 to May 29. Over the whole period of the contract, therefore, the GM workers will have received a total dollars-and-cents gain of $26.40 even from Reuther's sliding-scale clause.

THE GM EXPERIENCE

The GM experience is therefore no argument against a properly designed and safeguarded sliding-scale program in periods of inflation. It does demonstrate that even the best program on paper can turn out good or bad in practice according to who puts it forward and administers it, how it is set up and when it is used. An opportunist union leader like Reuther will frequently pick up a good program, distort it, misapply it, advance it belatedly or at the wrong time, and thus discredit it. This should be a reason not for the workers to discard the program, but to discard such leaders.

An Election Report from London

By T. Burns

LONDON — The British general election is over, but nothing has been resolved. The battle of the polls has resulted in stalemate. An acute class polarization has brought the mighty battalions of labor, 13,000,000 strong, face to face with the Tory capitalist enemy and its temporary middle class ally.

The huge industrial cities of London, Birmingham, Glasgow, Manchester, Newcastle on Tyne, Sheffield and Nottingham, and the great mining areas of S. Wales, Yorkshire, Durham, Ayr and the Midlands, stand solid against the agricultural, residential and middle class areas — Sussex, Dorset, Surrey, etc. The country is sharply divided along unmistakable class lines. What are the lessons of this significant development? This question now occupies the center of the stage for the strategists of reaction no less than the revolutionary movement.

THE PROGRAMS

To the average observer, the election itself may have appeared a "tame affair." There were the usual speeches and cross talk between the candidates. In regard to programs, there was on the surface little to choose. The Tories lied and promised all things to all men, couched of course in the usual language of "ifs and perhaps," while the Labor leaders did everything possible to water down an already miserable program. Nationalization was diluted. Not one leading spokeesman of the right wing mentioned it during the main speeches of the campaign. Wage freezing and high taxation were defended, all in the name of a "responsible government."

Inside the Labor Party there was no enthusiasm for the program. For one thing the party had never voted for it. Morgan Phillips, the bureaucratic "machine minder" who masquerades as a democratic secretary, in company with the National Executive Committee took good care to prevent a decision being taken. Every serious conference move was postponed right up to the election.

Despite this, the Labor Party meetings throughout the election were in the main well attended. But the audiences were by no means uncritical. Questions on housing, wages and the cost of living were continuously being pressed by the workers. In many districts the Labor candidates, who included numerous petty-bourgeois careerist types, were looked upon with hostility by the workers.

Nevertheless Labor received the largest vote ever won by a political party in the history of British politics. The workers trudged to the polls not out of blind faith in its policy or trust in the "nice spoken" gentlemen who were candidates, but out of loyalty to a socialist ideal against capitalism. For the workers the class issues were clear and they acted accordingly.

THE STALINISTS

The CP and its "independent" fellow-travelers were routed precisely because of this fact. No one will spill many tears over the defeat of that old GPU agent, D. N. Pritt, K.C. This man for years offered the powerful bribe of the finest legal advice in the country to his constituents, but this time they rolled up in their thousands for Labor. Not only has the British worker begun to think in terms of class politics, but he also understands that "brilliant individualists" and small parties are little use in the struggles ahead.

It would, of course, be a mistake to imagine that the "left" line of the CP did not receive support. Their meetings were well attended and the questions in the main were advanced and intelligent. There was a good deal of support for the domestic policy of the CP, but as a party nobody felt that it had much of a role to play. The general reaction was that it was a pity that the LP did not have such a policy. In addition there was much criticism of their relations with Russia — their blind allegiance and the lack of democracy in the Soviet Union. This certainly was colored with shades of the witch-hunt campaign, but nevertheless there was a good deal of genuine and legitimate hostility also to the Russian political setup.

FASCIST OVERTONES

Tory meetings were also well attended and in many respects resembled fascist gatherings. There was the usual bowing and scraping every time Churchill's name was mentioned, and anti-Semitic and racial outbursts were frequent in some districts. The "Young Tories" especially are evolving towards fascism rapidly. An incident in St. Pancras after Labor won the seat illustrates this. When the victorious candidate, Dr. Jeger, came out of the Town Hall to make a speech thanking the voters, the Tories present shouted, "Speak in Yiddish."

Both forces were lined up on a class basis such as Britain has never seen before.

THE MIDDLE CLASS

Morrison and the right wing set out to woo the middle class by studiously avoiding all references to socialism during the campaign. It fell on deaf ears. The truth of the matter is that the middle class had swung from the Labor Party a long time ago. Morrison's opportunism simply deepened the antagonism.

This section of the population undoubtedly has problems which must be sympathetically treated if they are to be won back to Labor: taxation has hit them heavily, especially those on fixed incomes. They suffer from housing shortages and rising prices the same as the workers, only with this difference, that they remain completely unorganized. During the election we had the ridiculous spectacle of Labor speakers defending taxation before middle class audiences, with the Tories demagogically advocating a reduction.

The Laborite right wing expected great gains from the countryside, only to meet with bitter disappointment. There is absolutely no doubt that the farm laborers voted Labor to a man. In Norfolk especially, Labor held its seats mainly because of their votes. But in the south of England the large and small farmers voted solidly Tory, and this despite the fact that they have never been more prosperous. In essence this is precisely the reason why they voted Tory. These people wish to protect what they have and as such represent today a most conservative section of the community. It is out of the question for Labor to win them because they became prosperous during its rule.

AT THE CROSS-ROADS

Labor has lined up the workers and polled its maximum. The middle class has swung to the Tories, and almost swept them to power. Can Labor at the next election win a decisive majority for its present program? This seems most unlikely. The Liberal Party, even if it contests, will find its supporters drifting over to the Tories. An urge for "responsible government" will wash the Liberals away. No one takes them really seriously, and their supporters are much nearer the Tories than Labor. The fact must be faced that in all probability a Tory victory with a small majority seems most likely.

A protracted period of instability is opening up. In the next period the struggles of British Labor will be endowed with a high political content. Their experiences with two minority Labor governments, one with a huge majority, and now a stalemate, will provide valuable yardsticks for an understanding of the present bourgeois parliamentary setup. This is good and opens up splendid possibilities for the revolutionaries.

Labor has scraped the barrel of its supporters and can never again come to power with the support of the middle class on the basis of its present reformist program. This must be clearly understood. Either the party adopts a real socialist program or it will suffer the fate of its international counterparts. British Social Democracy is really at the cross-roads.

This is becoming clear to the rank and file. Although at the moment there is much confusion, a political offensive by the left wing will undoubtedly make great headway. The Socialist Outlook and the Socialist Fellowship are opening a campaign to rally the left. Upon its success much will depend.

Articles on Yugoslavia Featured in Current FI

Two important articles on Yugoslavia are featured in the current issue of **Fourth International.** In **Yugoslavia and Permanent Revolution,** Michel Pablo offers a penetrating analysis of the theoretical blunders and contradictions committed by Yugoslav leaders. **An Interview with Tito** supplies the full text of Tito's discussions with a French journalist and is accompanied by an editorial discussion of his replies. The current FI also contains articles on China, France, Italy and Indonesia.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

SWP Branches Start Action on Renewals For 'The Militant'

In contrast to capitalist papers, **The Militant** has a very high proportion of readers who promptly renew their subscriptions upon receiving an expiration notice. Thinking workers appreciate America's leading socialist weekly.

However, there are always a number of readers who just don't get around to sending in their dollar until someone drops in for a neighborly visit and calls their attention to this detail.

In January and February we had quite a few such subscribers in some areas. And so branches of the Socialist Workers Party are swinging into action to help out **The Militant** in this work.

Chicago is dramatizing their local campaign with a large map of the city, according to Literature Agent **Gus Mason,** in which "red pins indicate active subscriptions, white pins those expiring in the current month, white pins with a black cross those that have expired, and orange pins to show where our newsstands are."

"This gives a visible and startling picture of how many subs are active, how many are expiring and how many have expired in relation to the city as a whole. It also shows very clearly how many of these subs are in each neighborhood."

Literature Agent Bert Deck reports that **Los Angeles** too is launching a campaign for subs to **The Militant.** A goal of 60 has been set.

Al Lynn of Los Angeles comments on the "high totals that can be reached in sales of single copies." A friend who has been selling 50 a week to acquaintances found on temporarily discontinuing sales that he "has been getting many requests from those who had been buying, some of whom he had thought were not particularly interested. The things in which most were interested are the H-Bomb and Atom Bomb articles."

Literature Agent **Winifred Nelson** of **St. Paul** writes that with a favorable break in the weather, St. Paul's energetic sub-getters will begin regular calls on friends and neighbors. The problem there is not so much keeping up renewals as in expanding into new areas. "We're conscious of the problem and trying to come up with a solution."

The Minnesota comrades like the way shorter stories have been scattered through **The Militant** recently. "It improves the readability and appearance of the paper a great deal. Laura Gray's cartoon this week — the crocodile tears — is priceless. Keep up the good work!"

The **Detroit** comrades have been well received on the picket lines in the Chrysler strike. Their regular bundle is now 300 copies a week and they took 1,000 of the March 13 issue.

The **Bay Area** is gearing for a subscription push, according to San Francisco's Literature Agent, **Dixon Woods.** "Sales by the Oakland comrades at the University of California campus seem to be jumping by leaps and bounds," he writes. "Last November we would sell seven or eight copies. Last week the comrades sold 20 copies, several purchasers asking if **The Militant** is the publication of the Socialist Workers Party."

A seaman who got a copy of **The Militant** at a distribution in New York came to a meeting of the San Francisco branch commemorating Negro History week. "He said that when he saw our leaflet was put out by the same organization he decided to go. **The Militant** leaves its impression!"

The **Akron** branch has placed sub-getting "No. 1 on the agenda," writes Literature Agent **Doris Hilson.**

We received $10 from an anonymous New York reader in response to the appeals of **The Militant** to the labor movement to rally to the miners' cause. "Please send the enclosed $10 to the aid of the United Mine Workers. Thank you."

This money came right at the end of the strike; however, we were glad to forward it, as help is no doubt still needed in the hardship cases.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P.O. Box 1342.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 9 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 625 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—166 W. Washington Street, Rm. 312-314. Tel. Dearborn 2-4767.

CLEVELAND — Every Sunday, 9 p.m., Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.)

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-8267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.

FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 14 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—817 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.

NEW HAVEN—For information write, P.O. Box No. 1019.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149.

HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p.m.

BROOKLYN — Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.

CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone AT. 5-2488

OAKLAND (Cal.) ---- For information, phone TEmplebar 2-8163 or TEmplebar 2-3735, or write P. Montauk, 906-B Cypress St. Oakland 7.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open every Friday evening.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.

ST. LOUIS ---- "For information, phone FR 5305."

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore.

TOLEDO — Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502, Toledo 3.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P.O. Box 584, Worcester

YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 6 p.m.

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TROTSKY

"Generally speaking, democracy is indispensable to the bourgeoisie in an epoch of free competition. To monopoly capitalism, resting not on 'free' competition but on centralized command, democracy is of no use; it is hampered and embarrassed by it. Imperialism can tolerate democracy as a necessary evil up to a certain point. But its inner urge is toward dictatorship. During the last war, 22 years ago, Lenin wrote: "The difference between the republican-democratic and monarchic-reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie is being effaced precisely because both of them are rotting." Further, he added: "Political reaction all along the line is inherent in imperialism."

— Leon Trotsky, A Fresh Lesson, 1938.

LENIN

Was the FBI 'Vindicated'?

When the Coplon-Gubitchev trial ended on March 8 with their conviction as spies, the two chief government prosecutors immediately issued statements hailing the verdict as "a vindication for the FBI." The reactionary press promptly followed suit.

To show how maliciously absurd their contention is, we need only apply the same line of reasoning to other cases. Suppose, for example, that Hitler had won the war — would that have constituted a vindication of his countless crimes against humanity? Some newspapers in this country would probably have thought so, but most people wouldn't.

The same thing goes for the FBI. It won out in this case, but that does not vindicate its violations of the law in prosecuting the case. The guilt or innocence of the defendants on the espionage charges in the trial was a matter entirely separate from the issue of the FBI's guilt or innocence in breaking the laws which it is paid and sworn to uphold.

Regarding the FBI's guilt there can be no doubt whatever. Numerous FBI agents were compelled to get up in court and admit under oath that they had tapped telephones in violation of the law, and that in previous court appearances they had given false testimony under oath regarding these felonious acts. J. Edgar Hoover and Truman's Attorney General McGrath both publicly stated that wiretapping was going on, and that it would continue.

If the FBI wants to get credit for being vindicated of these crimes, then it should insist that the FBI law-breakers, and the men in high office who directed them, be indicted, brought to court and made to face the verdict of a jury in a fair trial. And the newspapers who support every act of the FBI should insist on it too.

But of course neither the government nor the capitalist press would support such a move. And the fact that they won't is the really significant aspect of this case. For it vindicates our charge, made at the start of the Coplon-Gubitchev trial, that the FBI not only breaks the law with impunity, but that it gets off scot-free with such crimes.

And the praise being showered on the FBI for its successful escape from the punishment it richly deserves vindicates our oft-repeated warning that the main threat to the democratic liberties of the American people today emanates from the White House, the Department of Justice and the FBI who falsely claim that they are acting in defense of those liberties.

Be Careful of What You Don't Say

The role of the courts, as agencies promoting the witch-hunt and the assault on civil rights, was high-lighted last week by the **unanimous** decision of the Appellate Court of New York in upholding the notorious Feinberg Law. This law which decrees the dismissal of teachers belonging to "subversive" organizations had been ruled unconstitutional by New York Supreme Court Justice Schirick last November. The Appellate Court has now reversed this decision.

The argumentation of the Appellate judges is the most sinister feature of their arch-reactionary decision. We single out for comment only two items.

First, it was argued by Justice Heffernan that no question of abridgment or violation of constitutional rights was involved inasmuch as "there is no constitutional right to be a teacher." There is, in the nature of things, no "constitutional right" to pursue any occupation, including that of teacher. But no one, including teachers, can be deprived by arbitrary legislative or judicial action of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. By shifting the issue from that of civil rights to that of occupation, the N. Y. Appellate Court has in fact decreed that any individual can be deprived of his or her civil rights on the mere ground that there is no provision in the constitution safeguarding the given job.

Heffernan's second argument is just as sweeping. It is that since the state legislature fixes the "standards" for teachers, it has the power to include other "qualifications than scholastic."

He then proceeded not only to dismiss out of hand the crucial issue of whether or not these "other qualifications" are flagrant violations of elementary democratic rights but also to assert flatly that thought-control was wholly and justifiably within the scope of these "qualifications." "The most important qualification is loyalty to our government," he said.

And as if to leave no doubt that ideas and ideas alone — "dangerous thoughts" they were called by the Japanese despots — are the real target, he went on to add: "It is not necessary to impart a thought by direct statement. The result may be accomplished by indirect, subtle insinuations; by what is left unsaid as well by what is said."

No greater aid could have been extended the witch-hunters who under this interpretation are free to hound their victims not only for what they may say but also for "what is left unsaid!"

Looking Backward

The socialist child of the future will never be able to understand the capitalist system. He will ask, "What was capitalism like?" His old grandmother will say, "Under capitalism three-quarters of the people in the whole world went hungry and in rags in the fifth year of atomic energy, 1950."

"Why were they hungry?" the child will ask. "Because," his grandmother will patiently explain, "they produced too much wheat, too much corn, too many potatoes, too many eggs, too much milk. They went without clothes because there was too much cotton and too much flax and too much wool."

"But I don't understand," the child will say. "Why should people be without food and clothes because there is too much? What I'd do would be to distribute everything to the people who need it, and then there wouldn't be too much."

"Yes, that is the way a child would do it, but not the grown up capitalists back in 1950," his grandmother will say. "You see, they wouldn't permit it to be distributed, because it couldn't be sold for a profit. They had to see that it wasn't distributed, so that what was left would sell for more and bring them a bigger profit."

"I don't understand why all those people just stood around and went hungry and cold because some other people wanted a profit — and I don't even know what a profit is!" the child will continue. "What did they do with all that food and stuff that they didn't want people to have?"

"Well," his grandmother will reply, "they got the American capitalist government to buy up 6½-million bales of cotton, and nearly 200-million pounds of butter, and almost a half billion bushels of wheat, and 627 million bushels of corn, and four billion eggs and 275-million pounds of milk and loads and loads of everything else. And they put it in warehouses and storage bins and even caves. And it just piled up until it began to go bad and rotten. And some, like the potatoes, they dyed blue and fed to the hogs."

"You mean, Granny, that they took good potatoes and fed them to the pigs and didn't let hungry people have them just because some mean old capitalists wanted to make — what was that word — profits?"

"That's right, son."

"Granny, I'm glad I don't live under that old capitalism."

"Not as glad as I am, son."

Quit Whitewashing the Trumanites on FEPC!

By Albert Parker

Roy Wilkins and Arnold Aronson, chairman and secretary respectively of the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization, last week sent a letter urging the 60 national organizations sponsoring the mobilization to continue and increase pressure on the Senate for enactment of a strong FEPC bill.

We agree completely with the statement in their letter that the McConnell "voluntary" FEPC Bill, which was passed by the House as a substitute for the Powell Bill, "is unsatisfactory to all supporters of effective FEPC legislation. The Commission which it creates is empowered to make recommendations, not to issue orders, and it is utterly without authority to deal with those who choose to ignore or defy its recommendations."

However, we are compelled to denounce as unadulterated whitewash the subsequent statement in their letter which attempts to discover something "progressive" in the passage of the McConnell Bill by the Trumanites and Republicans after these same members of the House had voted against it when it was presented as an amendment to the Powell Bill.

The passage of the McConnell Bill, writes Wilkins and Aronson, "serves two purposes: (a) it keeps the issue alive whereas recommittal would have ended action for this session, and (b) it forces the Senate to act, which it would not have done had the House bill been killed."

WHAT KEEPS IT ALIVE

This, we maintain, poses the question falsely. Why would recommittal of the McConnell Bill to the committee that sponsored the Powell Bill have ended action this session? What would have stopped that committee from reintroducing the Powell bill and continuing the fight for it in the House? The answer is: Nothing would have stopped them from doing so — if the Trumanites who control that committee really want to fight for an effective FEPC.

They claim "the issue" is kept alive by passage of the McConnell Bill — but what issue are they talking about? The only issue kept alive by that bill is the toothless FEPC — which will have to be killed before an effective FEPC can be passed. Wilkins and Aronson seem to have forgotten that what keeps the FEPC issue alive is not the way the House votes but the pressure of the masses.

It is that pressure, and not what the House does, that will force the Senate to act. If that pressure is relaxed, the Senate will not act, no matter what the House did. And the worst thing about the Wilkins-Aronson drivel about the "purposes" served by passing the McConnell Bill is that it tends to reduce that pressure by obscuring the real issues.

TRUMANITE PROPAGANDA

It would have been better, in our opinion, for the House to have passed no bill at all than to pass a bill bearing the name of FEPC which will only confuse voters as to who their real enemies are. Then the issue would have been more clear-cut than it is now, and mass resentment would have mounted; under those conditions nobody would have had to worry about the issue being kept alive. But the Trumanite propaganda that the McConnell Bill is better than nothing at all has the opposite, harmful effect — especially when Wilkins and Aronson, who know better, give fuel to such propaganda.

Why, then, do they do it? The reason is bared by a further statement in their letter: "The basis on which to judge the action of your representative is the vote on the adoption of the McConnell amendment, not the vote on final passage." In other words, the congressmen who voted against a toothless FEPC when it was presented in the form of the McConnell amendment but then turned around and voted for it when it was presented in the form of the McConnell Bill — they are the "friends of FEPC."

What it means is that the Wilkinses and Aronsons — the Negro, labor and liberal leaders in general — are intent on protecting and upholding the prestige of the Trumanites who stabbed the FEPC fight in the back by voting to pass an admittedly "unsatisfactory" measure in the House. They don't want to tell the truth about the Trumanites; they want the masses to continue to accept the line that the Trumanites can be depended on as allies in the fight against Jim Crow.

HOW TO EXERT PRESSURE

But this policy of whitewashing the Trumanites is just what has weakened the FEPC fight up to now. Instead of getting greater concessions from the Trumanites, it only encourages them to regard the Civil Rights Mobilization with contempt, and to continue their shell-game on civil rights. Instead of helping the fight in the Senate, it makes it all the more certain that the most that will come out of that body will be a measure along the lines of the McConnell Bill, if anything at all.

There is only one way to put effective pressure on capitalist politicians. And that is by telling the truth about their crimes, sins and deceptions — not by appeasing them. Even so rabidly Democratic a publication as the **Chicago Defender**, third largest Negro paper, recognized this last week when it asked in an editorial "what happened to the administration's leaders in the fight for a strong FEPC?" and warned the Democratic Party not to kid itself into thinking it has the Negro vote in the bag.

Why should the leaders of the Civil Rights Mobilization and the NAACP, who claim they are politically "non-partisan," be less critical of Trumanite treachery than a paper that has formally backed the Democratic Party for almost 20 years? How much longer do these leaders think the Negro and labor rank and file are going to tolerate a policy that subordinates their interests to those of the capitalist politicians?

WHY BELGIUM IS NOW DIVIDED OVER KING LEOPOLD'S RETURN

By Charles Hanley

King Leopold's victory is no great victory; but it is a modest success all the same, for he obtained some 57% of the total vote in the March 12 referendum. This means that the peasants and many petty-bourgeois in the towns, especially in Catholic Flanders, voted for this pro-fascist king who clasped hands with Hitler at Berchtesgaden in 1940.

The workers voted against the reactionary monarch, especially in the industrial regions of Wallonia. The church had officially ordered all Catholics to support him. The Belgian Parliament will now have to decide whether 57% is a sufficient majority for Leopold's return to the throne.

In an article published on March 11 by the **N. Y. Herald-Tribune**, Paul-Henri Spaak, former ("socialist") Prime Minister of Belgium, expressed astonishment that the "royal question" had come up again and was dividing the Belgian people.

But after World War II Spaak worked hand in hand with the other leaders of both the Socialist and Stalinist Parties to assure the recovery of Belgian capitalism and ignored the vital interests of the Belgian working class. This treacherous policy immensely strengthened the Belgian bourgeoisie, economically and politically. Instead of struggling against the monarchy — the rallying center of Belgian reaction — those labor fakers merely "opposed" the compromised personality of Leopold III, while continuing to support the reactionary institution of the throne.

The Stalinists even pretended that the question was not so important after all, only a "bourgeois diversion." The small Belgian Trotskyist Party was the only one to come out with the slogan of the Republic and with a clear and consistent program.

Repeatedly abandoning the workers in the economic and political fields, masking a basic political issue as a purely constitutional case against one man, all the Spaaks and the Stalinist bureaucrats played into the hands of reaction and thus paved the way for the Catholic party's demand for a Bonapartist plebiscite.

This setback to Belgian labor comes as the direct result of the many blunders, betrayal and capitulations of the SP and CP leadership. But, whatever the Parliament decides about Leopold, the Belgian workers certainly will not cease to be hostile to the royal admirer of Hitler and to the "strong" regime the bourgeoisie wants to set up because of the deteriorating economic situation.

Correction

A typographical error in last week's issue distorted the meaning of the sentence beginning at the end of the second column in Li Fu-jen's review of Jack Belden's latest book on China. Li Fu-jen wrote that Belden believed: "The Marxists are just all wrong in contending that the peasantry cannot play a leading, independent role in the revolution. . ." By error, the word **cannot** was printed as **can**.

Left Hand, Right Hand — Truman's Flim-Flammery

When he is seeking votes, Truman goes in for radical talk on civil rights. But his two appointees to the U. S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia were the ones who upheld strict Jim Crow segregation in the capitol's schools last month, and the man he is backing for the U. S. Senate nomination in Missouri is an avowed opponent of equal education for Negroes.

House Seeks to Expand Power of FBI Purgers

Up to now the FBI has been assigned the job of collecting information in the "loyalty" purge. But in an amendment to the National Science Foundation Bill passed by the House it is given the right to evaluate the information too, and to decide which science students will be disqualified from participation in the program.

THE ELECTORAL POLICY OF THE WALLACEITES

By Fred Hart

Out of the 467 seats in Congress to be filled at this year's election, the Progressive Party has decided to contest less than one-ninth with 50 candidates of its own (about half the number it ran in 1948).

This decision, announced at the Progressive convention in Chicago last month, undoubtedly reflects the drastic decline in the party's membership, influence and morale since its formation less than two years ago. But it would be wrong to conclude from this that the decision to run so few candidates is due mainly to their decline in strength.

New Jersey, the state with the earliest date for filing of election petitions, proves otherwise. Of all the densely populated states, this one has relatively the most liberal provisions for getting on the ballot. If the Progressive Party had wanted to, it could easily have got on the ballot in all the state's 14 congressional districts. In 1948 it ran seven candidates for the House of Representatives from this state. Last week it filed for only three congressional seats — in the 3rd, 6th and 12th districts, each of which is now held by a Republican. They did not choose to contest a single one of the five seats now held by Trumanites.

This demonstrates that the primary cause of the 1950 Wallaceite policy is a political rather than organizational crisis. In most of the cases where they will abstain from congressional contests, it will not be because they lack the strength to get on the ballot but bcause they will be satisfied on the whole with either the Democratic or Republican candidate (or both).

Their Platform for the U. S.

The Wallaceites' hopes have been raised by statements of Democratic politicians like McMahon and Tydings who have suggested the need for seeking a deal with the Kremlin. The Progressive Party is not going to fight any capitalist politician who makes similar statements, or might make them. And one of the methods of appeasing such politicians and smoothing the way toward a reconciliation with them was the domestic platform adopted by the Progressive convention.

Commenting on this in the March 11 **Nation**, Murray Kempton said: "It is not perceptibly left of the current Truman program, and it is somewhat to the right of the La Follette platform of 26 years ago. Its farm program is the Brannan Plan; its labor policy is Taft-Hartley repeal; its civil rights program and the President's are identical." If this is an exaggeration, it is a very small one. Granted that there are differences between the Progressive and Trumanite domestic programs, they certainly are not large enough to stand in the way of Progressive support, overt or covert, for most of the Trumanite candidates.

And just that was explicitly provided for in the report of the congressional campaign committee unanimously adopted by the convention. The report declared that "there are candidates in both old parties who are responsive to the strength of the peoples' demand for decisive action to meet their needs." Then it listed five different methods by which the Progressives could achieve their objectives in the 1950 campaign:

"1. By concentration in selected areas where the candidates of the old parties offer the voters no real choice and where a victory or balance-of-power vote for our candidate will help unite and strengthen the progressive forces. There our Party will nominate its own candidates. . .

"2. By joining with peoples' movements for the defeat of the most open and notorious reactionaries.

"3. **By using our strength and influence in alliance with labor and progressive forces in the old parties to compel the designation of peoples' candidates, or to secure their nomination in primaries.**

"4. By influencing candidates of the old parties to take stronger positions in issues and secure their commitment to a minimum program.

"5. By abstaining from dissipation of our forces in contests where neither old party candidate merits our support and where our strength and the political alignments of the mass of voters do not warrant the nomination of a candidate of our own."

They Are Now a Pressure Agency

Subtract the deliberately obscure formulations and their policy boils down to this: In most cases they will not oppose the Democratic and Republican candidates; they will work within the old parties by participation in their primaries; and they will run candidates in a small number of districts in order to show the old parties that they are worth bargaining with because they still have some pressure (or balance-of-power) strength.

In short, the Progressive Party in 1950 is reduced — or more properly, has reduced itself — to the status of a pressure agency operating partly within and partly outside of the two major capitalist parties. But why is a separate party needed to carry out such a role? And what happened to the original Wallaceite-Stalinist concept of the Progressive Party as the organization that would challenge the old parties for political supremacy in this country?

These questions are bound to occur this year to more and more of the people who supported the Wallaceite candidates in 1948, because they wanted a break with capitalist politics and capitalist parties. And as they do, the Progressive Party is fated to suffer greater and deeper demoralization and disintegration.

Shachtman Advocates Participation in Capitalist Primaries

By George Breitman

In a few weeks the Independent Socialist League is going to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Shachtmanite split from the Socialist Workers Party — a split which they sought to justify on the ground that their political program alone was consistently Marxist. Meanwhile the leaders and members of the ISL are engaged in a discussion over electoral policy that was initiated by their national chairman's proposal to advocate the running of union-sponsored candidates in primary elections of the capitalist parties, and to give them support in general elections if they win the capitalist party nominations in the primaries.

At a recent meeting of the ISL National Committee, Max Shachtman introduced a motion whose key section reads as follows:

"If . . . it appears in the pre-election period [of 1950] that the unions will follow their present policy unaltered, and if the slogan of the left wing [for a labor party] is not accepted by the union ranks, it is permissible, and under certain conditions necessary, to present to the ranks another slogan or proposal. Where the policy of supporting the candidate of a capitalist party is adopted by the unions, it would be correct for the left wing, after a declaration that it retains its views on the labor party and recognizes the fact that its views have for the moment been rejected, to propose that the unions at least put forward their own candidates for the nominations, chosen democratically by the membership, and organize a fight for these candidates, in the primary elections, as against the official nominees of the capitalist party machines — pledging its support of the union nominees if they win in the primaries. The left wing should certainly give aid and comfort to those militants who may make such a proposal independently and should even stimulate them to do so."

RADICAL PHRASES

Shachtman naturally tries to paint up this proposal with some radical phraseology and provisos. He claims its aim is to "deepen and sharpen the conflict of interests between the bureaucracy of the official capitalist parties and the labor leadership that has attached itself to these parties, thereby contributing to a separation between them." He wants the unions to engage in capitalist primaries for "the major and outstanding offices" and not merely for "minor office." And because the new policy is "subject to opportunist misinterpretation," he wants it applied only under certain conditions — only in highly proletarianized localities, for example — and not until the ISL Political Committee has approved its application in specific cases. **But in essence this is the policy of the Reuthers which the Shachtmanites used to condemn as capitalist politics.**

A similar proposal was made in an amendment offered by E. Garrett and in another motion by R. Ferguson. All of these proposals, including Shachtman's, were voted down by the National Committee.

A contrary motion, introduced by Ben Hall, stated in part: "Where unions actually do run candidates in the primaries, they will run them as part of a labor-liberal coalition within the Democratic Party against the right wing. Support to these candidates in the primaries as in the regular elections will not be support of independent labor candidates but of Fair Deal coalition."

And he urges the rejection of the new proposals "because in the specific conditions of labor's role in the Democratic Party at the present time, they would make it impossible to present a consistent pro-labor party position with a genuine working class content."

Hall's motion was an attempt to more or less reaffirm the former Shachtmanite policy, but he weakened its defense considerably by referring to the position of his opponents as a "tactic" that would not be effective in stead of characterizing it for what it is.

In spite of Hall's conciliatory formulations, his motion was defeated too. This leaves the Shachtmanites, for the time being, without an electoral policy for 1950. But Shachtman's proposal discloses something far more serious and fundamental.

The present political situation in the U. S. is difficult for all radical organizations, creating the soil in which renegacy, demoralization and opportunism flourish. The only ones who can survive to play a truly progressive role when the situation changes and mass radicalization ensues are those who have firm principles — that is, class principles — to guide and sustain them. **The Shachtmanite entry onto the opportunist road being trod by the Socialist Party signifies beyond doubt that the ISL has rid itself of such principles. It is also a new index, and the most revealing to date, of the degeneration they have undergone since they started out as an independent organization ten years ago.**

A WARNING CONFIRMED

In 1940, when Shachtman was first beginning to nibble at his revisions of Marxism, Trotsky reminded him of Lenin's words: "A mistake always begins by being small and growing greater. Differences always begin with trifles. Everyone has at times suffered a tiny wound but should this tiny wound become infected, a mortal disease may follow." Trotsky also warned Shachtman, while he was still a member of the SWP, to call a halt to his mistakes before it was too late: "Otherwise the scratch which has already developed into an ulcer can lead to gangrene."

Shachtman's advocacy of entry into the political camp of the class enemy demonstrates that the ISL is already in a well-advanced gangrenous state.

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Rogge--Wallace's Successor?

By John F. Petrone

According to some reports, O. John Rogge, the lawyer, is being groomed to take the place of Henry Wallace as the leader of the Progressive Party when and if Wallace decides to quit. If this is true, he will have the support of the Stalinists. And he will have their support BECAUSE of Rogge's occasional remarks differentiating himself from Stalinism, and not in spite of them. For the fortunes of American Stalinism have fallen so low that they cannot hope to make any headway even through front organizations unless they are headed by people who disclaim, and once in a while even criticize, certain Stalinist policies.

This does not mean that Rogge is a consistent critic of Stalinism. Far from it. He says a few words for the record, but he never suits his actions to his words. At the Progressive convention in Chicago last month he declared: "We shall not bend backwards in order to attempt to justify the conduct of the Cominform countries toward Yugoslavia. . . In the field of foreign policy we must emphasize the rights of smaller nations to work out solutions for their problems in their own ways. The bullying, threatening, coercion or unequal treatment of a smaller nation by a greater one is a potential threat to peace — whether done by the United States, by Great Britain or by the Soviet Union."

But when the Progressive convention got around to voting on foreign policy, Rogge failed to get up and demand a condemnation of "the conduct of the Cominform countries toward Yugoslavia." He didn't bend backwards, he didn't bend forward, he just sat in his seat. For he was one of the leaders of the party who had met with the Stalinists prior to the convention and agreed that Yugoslavia is "an internal problem of Eastern Europe, not of the Progressive Party." The Stalinists were perfectly willing to let Rogge slap them on the wrist over Yugoslavia if he would not try to commit his party to the defense of Yugoslavia; in return, he was perfectly willing to avoid a fight over Yugoslavia just so long as he could get himself some good publicity for nothing.

Anybody who tended to misunderstand the mechanics of this cynical little comedy could quickly correct himself by checking Rogge's much publicized trip to the Soviet Union a few days later. Rogge plays a key role not only in Stalinist front organizations in this country but abroad as well. He went to Paris last spring as a delegate to the World Congress of Partisans of Peace, and later to one of its conferences in Mexico City. Each time he spoke a few words of implied criticism of the Kremlin — but always in such a way as not to really offend the Stalinists, always in agreement with the main line of the Kremlin.

Not just anybody is permitted to visit the Soviet Union. A little over a year ago Louis Adamic applied for a visa; but because he was suspected of harboring the suspicion that the Kremlin's attacks on Yugoslavia might not be justified, he was denied admittance. Why then was Rogge given a visa when the Stalinists were aware of his remarks on Yugoslavia at the Progressive convention? Because they know their man. They know he is always open to a little deal; they know how to distinguish between his words and his deeds.

And he did not play them false. In Chicago he had said that the "bullying, threatening, coercion or unequal treatment of a smaller nation by a greater one is a potential threat to peace." But this "peace partisan" did not utter a word along these lines as he spoke on March 8 to the members of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) in the Kremlin. Instead, he confined himself to advocating renewed efforts for a U. S.-Soviet agreement on atomic and other weapons, and to advocating freedom of speech for every country.

This last point naturally got the most publicity. It was typical of Rogge's "criticisms" of Stalinism in that on the whole it did the Stalinists more good than harm. In the first place, nobody in the Soviet Union heard it but the members of the Supreme Soviet — that is, people carefully screened, selected and supervised by Stalin's GPU. But this did not prevent the Stalinists all over the world from shouting about it as "proof" of the existence of free speech in the Soviet Union — in contrast to the State Department's recent refusal to permit representatives of the "peace partisans" to come to the U. S. to present their point of view. And of course Rogge's speech was useful in calling world-wide attention to the Kremlin's present "peace offensive," its readiness to listen to various proposals for a deal, etc. For Rogge the main thing was that it called world-wide attention to — Rogge.

Before leaving Moscow, Rogge put a wreath on the grave of John Reed, author of **Ten Days That Shook the World.** Reed was a revolutionist who was attracted to the Soviet Union by the Bolshevik principles exemplified by Lenin and Trotsky and who gave up his life in the cause of socialism. He would have been revolted by such people as Rogge — self-seeking careerists devoid of principle and shame, advocates of "progressive capitalism" and opponents of Marxism — who are willing to feather the nest of Stalinism as long as they can get something out of it for themselves. The gulf between these two Americans who came to Moscow — the first attracted by Leninism, the other welcomed and made use of by Stalinist totalitarianism — is another of the many signs of the Soviet Union's frightful degeneration since Stalin got power.

'Charm' for Job-Seekers

By Anna Carson

Last month some 210,000 persons were added to the labor force, according to latest U. S. Census figures. But, the Bureau reports, there were only 6,000 new jobs for these new job-seekers. About 204,000 were added to the unemployed lists. And if it keeps up at this rate, by 1954 there will be more than 12,000,000 unemployed — that is, if we continue to have "prosperity."

This is no pleasant prospect, particularly for the youth. And more and more of them are going to be seeking fundamental answers to why they can't get jobs. That's where the capitalist propagandists come in. There will be no lack of jobs for them — they've got the tough over-time chore of covering up for capitalism's ills and throwing the blame for the plight of the working youth on anything but the profit system.

A typical wrinkle in the type of propaganda that's being handed out now was given quite a write-up in the March 11 **N. Y. Times,** under the heading, "Youths Advised on How to Get Jobs."

The **Times** gives half a column and top-of-the-page billing to a report about the advice given to 435 high-school students in Bloomfield, N. J., by several experts on "career guidance." According to the advice, what young people need today to get a job is "a lot of personality, a little ability and the willingness to learn."

Miss Anita Chandler, assistant director of Admissions for Packard Junior College in New York, informed the students that "skills alone are not enough — the student must develop his or her personality."

It's not capitalism that's at fault, you see. It's the fault of the person himself if he doesn't get a job. He lacks that job-winning personality. But you have to be a combination Arthur Godfrey, Milton Berle and Grover Whalen to charm yourself into one of those 6,000 jobs available per month for more than 200,000 new job-seekers. That's in "good times," we mean.

James W. Hampton, director of "guidance" for Bloomfield High School, took the students one step further in the search for jobs via the personality route. He cited a recent study of 76 corporations which showed, he claimed, 90% of those fired lost their jobs through "some unfortunate personality trait." Among these were not only "carelessness," "non-cooperation" and "laziness," but "lack of initiative," "lack of ambition" and "attention to outside things."

This gives a hint as to the "ideal personality" employers seek. If you have "initiative" — that is, always to play up to the boss — you'll get along. If you have "ambition" — that is, always try to push the job and make an extra buck for the boss — you'll get ahead. If you don't "pay attention to outside things" — such as being active in the union — that will please the boss no end.

But even that kind of "personality" won't keep you off the relief lines under capitalism when they start shutting down entire factories and firing workers wholesale. That "new look" won't get the youth jobs then. And they don't give courses in "career guidance" or how to get more relief.

James P. Cannon And Rose Karsner Honored in L. A.

By A. Lynn

LOS ANGELES, March 5 — A banquet honoring the 40 years of socialist labor and devotion to the movement by James P. Cannon and Rose Karsner was attended by more than 130 members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party here.

"In the society within which we have been condemned to live," said Cannon, "hypocrisy rules supreme. The most beautiful and holy words that people have used to express their best feelings have become like coins — used so much as to be worn smooth — that we hesitate to use them. But here, in this audience, I can express my feelings.

"I believe in people and their unlimited capacity through co-operation. . . I believe in the power of fraternity in the party in the struggle for socialism."

Comrade Karsner expressed identical sentiments on the 40 years she devoted to the socialist movement where each receives as much has he or she gives. "On whatever level in the movement one participates, from leadership to my own level, that of a rank-and-filer," they can contribute and will grow to the extent that they do so.

Speaking especially on behalf of the women in the party who are not bounded by the four walls of the house, she demonstrated by her own life that the family in the life of a revolutionist is much richer than the ordinary role of the family as a unit in society.

Among those to greet Cannon was an Italian anarchist worker who first met Cannon in 1927 when his work in the International Labor Defense helped to save from the death sentence a worker threatened by the long arm of Mussolini from Italy.

Murry Weiss, organizer of the SWP Los Angeles Local, noted the move initiated by the New York Local to raise a "Cannon Birthday Fund" which would be used as he desires for the good of the movement, and announced the launching of this fund locally. Pledge cards were distributed and the results will be announced later.

Hit College "Loyalty" Oath

Provost Clarence A. Dykstra and over 55% of faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles have signed protest against order by Board of Regents that they sign non-communist oath or resign. Here, two faculty members tell reporters oath violates academic freedom. L. to r.: Prof. John W. Caughey and Dean Paul A. Dodd.

PROFS, STUDENTS FIGHT U. OF CALIFORNIA OATH

BERKELEY, Cal., March 8 — A storm of opposition has broken out on the campus here against the ultimatum issued Feb. 24 by the Regents of the University of California to 11,000 employees to sign a special "non-communist" oath of "loyalty" by April 30 or face dismissal. Faculty members and students alike have been aroused to mass protest by this threat to academic freedom from the bankers, business men and corporation lawyers who control the Board of Regents.

Yesterday 900 professors met here as members of the Academic Senate, self-governing faculty body, and voted unanimously to refuse to sign the oath even if it cost them their jobs. They represented the four campuses of the northern section of the University. A similar meeting of professors on four campuses of the southern section is scheduled today in Los Angeles.

The 900 professors charged that the oath was not only an "indignity" and "impractical" as a means for ferreting out "communists," but discriminatory and a fundamental abridgement of academic freedom. They called the compulsory oath a first step toward thought-control.

The firmest and most courageous stand has been taken by a group of non-tenure faculty members, including teaching and research assistants, represented by the Non-Senate Academic Employees. On March 3 this body voted 300 to 1 to strike if any member of the group is fired for refusal to take the oath. They also voted "unified action" with the senior professors in the Academic Senate.

COURAGEOUS ACT

Their statement pointed out their "extreme vulnerability" because of their lack of tenure, which means they can be fired any time. Nevertheless, they spoke out openly, declaring that "the regents' policy on employment and the loyalty oath to implement this policy are in direct conflict with the principles of academic freedom and detrimental to the cause of free education everywhere."

Some 8,000 students packed the Greek Open-Air Theatre on the campus here two days ago in response to a call by the Associated Students of UC. Although the meeting was called an "information" meeting, the students made it clear they were present to protest the "loyalty" oath.

When the student body's president, Dan Coelho, said "this is not a protest meeting," his words were met with a chorus of "boos." Three professors who spoke against the oath were roundly applauded. The statement of John Neyland, one of the regents who had voted for the "sign or be fired" oath, was greeted with laughter and hisses when it was read. There was some disappointment at the hesitant and cautious tone of the speakers and shouts of "What do we do now?" came from the audience when the student president made his concluding speech.

The imposition of the special "loyalty" oath was the regents' contribution to the growing witch-hunt in this state. It was first adopted by the regents in June, 1949, when the state legislature was talking about a "loyalty investigation" of the university. The regents at that time did not state any penalty for refusal to sign.

On Dec. 16, 1949, the Board of Regents, in an unprecedented action, fired Irving Fox, a teaching assistant in physics, for admitted participation in "communist" activities, although he was not a member of any organization calling itself "communist" and had signed the oath.

Anti-oath sentiment had been seething for months and had reached a semi-critical stage with the firing of Fox, but the explosion did not take place until the regents voted 12 to 6 several weeks ago that any employee who does not take the oath by April 30 "will be deemed to have severed his connection with the university as of June 30, 1950." They took this action after 1,400 had failed to sign the oath affidavit.

WITCH-HUNTERS SPREAD REIGN OF TERROR IN PITTSBURGH

(Cont. from page 1)

which the dailies are proceeding is the treatment they gave to a tragic auto accident which took place in the midst of the Cvetic and Dietze revelations. Featuring pictures of the shattered car, whose youthful driver had been killed while four others were seriously injured, the dailies here hailed the event as a stroke of fortune. The car full of young people had been headed for a left-wing youth conference and in the rear of the car were found copies of the **Daily Worker,** packets of documents and names of political friends.

A spokesman for the House Un-American Committee who seized the documents hailed the accident "an act of Providence," which was also duly featured.

The fury has thus far been concentrated on the Communist Party and its various fronts. Among last week's events are the following:

In a precedent-shattering action Judge Mussmano, presiding judge of the Allegheny County Grand Jury, dismissed from jury duty an alleged woman member of the Communist Party on the ground that only "persons of known loyalty" are eligible for jury duty in this country. (Mussmano has now been picked as Democratic candidate for Lt.-Governor.)

AUDITORIUMS BARRED

On the same day the Pittsburgh Board of Education announced an end to its traditional policy of allowing the use of public school auditoriums to all political parties. Cancelling two reservations for meetings made by the Progressive Party of Western Pennsylvania on the grounds that this organization is "communist-dominated," the Board issued a statement that henceforth the auditoriums will be closed to all organizations on the U. S. Attorney General's subversive list.

The Allegheny County Civil Rights Council, a recently formed arm of the local Democratic Party, at first announced that it would fight the jury ban and the ban on the use of public school auditoriums as flagrant violations of the constitutional rights of minority parties. A few hours later, the council's chairman, Reverend Murray, stated that this decision had been reversed because of the council's fear that "Communists would worm their way into the civil rights fight."

Auto Barons Hit Union with 3-Way Attack

DETROIT, March 12 — The profit-swollen 'Big Three' in auto — General Motors, Chrysler and Ford — are developing a triple-pronged attack against the auto workers.

Chrysler, backed by its record '49 profits that soared 30% over the '48 high, has forced the prolongation of the strike of its 87,000 workers into the seventh week, longer than any major auto battle in the post-war period except the '45-'46 General Motors strike.

General Motors, with a new '49 world profit record, is stockpiling cars in preparation for a possible shut-down, by operating at a seven-day-a-week clip.

At the same time, Ford is seeking a weasel formula to evade his own signed agreement to put aside 8¾ cents per hour in a pension trust fund (a major point in dispute at Chrysler). If he wins, he could renege on pension payments during depressions when profits decline.

Against this three-pronged attack, the CIO United Auto Workers leadership continues its "soft" policy. They negotiated with Chrysler for seven months before they called a strike, and then they advised workers to "show militancy by staying at home." Then they made contract demands, but later offered to end the strike without them. Recently, in the Marysville plant, a picket line of 60 sent down from Detroit simply checked office workers' dues receipts. Flying squadron members wondered whether they were out to close plants during a strike, or whether they were organizing members for the office workers' union.

More of the "soft" policy was indicated only a few days ago. Reuther announced plans to set up a citizens' "fact-finding board." Some 70 prominent people — professors, ministers and others — have been invited by the UAW to attend a meeting next Thursday. (Reuther even invited Chrysler officials, but they are not expected to attend.)

While Chrysler militants do not oppose the rallying of public support, they feel these tactics are no substitute for a "hard" policy toward the company — a policy of shutting all plants down tight. They feel that Reuther is using this citizens' committee INSTEAD OF trying to tighten up the strike.

On the other hand, relief authorities are "hard" toward strikers. Out of 11,000 that have requested assistance, only 1,700 have been assigned to work projects. Welfare agencies use home, car or television ownership as excuses to deny aid. No single man gets help, no matter how destitute. So far, nothing has been done to fight this dastardly policy which demoralizes strikers. Militants are demanding organization of demonstrations and parades at relief agencies and local and state bodies to combat outrages against hungry men and their families.

FAVOR NEW STRATEGY

Meanwhile, Reuther's "soft" one-at-a-time strategy is being criticized. A new demand raised on picket lines is for a common termination date for the Chrysler contract with the recently-signed Ford agreement. If the same demand should be sent GM, they point out, the next wage round could find a united UAW fighting jointly against the auto barons.

Industry-wide unity won huge concessions for the coal miners and compelled the steel magnates to settle. Reuther's strategy permits the auto corporations, united through their Chambers of Commerce and Manufacturers Associations, to take on the auto workers one-section-at-a-time and wear them out. A united program and industry-wide bargaining was proposed by the "Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW" to the last UAW national convention.

The Chrysler militants also take seriously Reuther's recent statement about making the corporation pay for every day of strike. They propose upping the 10 cent demand on Chrysler to 31c. — the same as that served on GM. Moreover, since the GM contract expires May 29, they propose a joint action alliance with GM workers if the Chrysler strike is not settled by then.

At the same time, they regret Reuther's refusal of the United Mine Workers offer of a loan of $1,000,000 to the Chrysler strikers This gesture of unity by Lewis is looked upon with great favor. Auto workers want greater unity to bring Chrysler, GM and Ford to their knees.

Publisher Paul Block Admits He Financed Suit Against Toledo Union

TOLEDO, March 11 — New developments in the Plaskon strike for pensions considerably sharpened the struggle this week. The pickets barred office workers from entering the plant for the first time and negotiations were broken off by the company.

Meanwhile the spotlight shifted to Washington where Richard S. Cole, a local attorney representing employers in union negotiations, testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee that the city is ". . . completely dominated and stifled by the dictatorship of a labor monopoly" and appealed for legislation to curb area-wide pension pool as an example of "unfair" bargaining which Toledo industrialists are trying to avert. He was completely silent about the conspiracy of the local employers who have raised a war chest to smash the union.

The union is planning to send a delegation to Washington to answer Cole and to place the true facts before the committee.

BLOCK'S TESTIMONY

A few days later a sensational development, which clears the air as to who is on which side in this fight, took the center of the stage. Paul Block Jr., publisher of Toledo's only two daily papers, a millionaire by birth-right and leading sponsor of the union-busting employers "Committee to Save the Payrolls," so-called, testified at a deposition hearing in one of the law suits pending around the union's financial affairs that he had contributed $5,000 to pay legal fees which enabled a UAW member to go to court and sue for audits of union records and other matters.

Several months ago John Bolman, a member of the Spicer office workers unit of UAW Local 12, filed a series of court actions designed to air internal union matters. The coincidence of the filing of these suits with the outbreak of the pension fight was not lost on local UAW militants who, while opposed to the right wing administration, are energetically supporting the struggle against the union-busters.

The revelation that Block was financing Bolman, who has been expelled from the union by the International Board, has confirmed the judgment of those militants who refused to have any part of his activities. An interesting sidelight, however, is that the local Stalinists moved heaven and earth in unsuccessful efforts to tie the militants to Bolman and as a result are now left holding the bag.

The emergence of Block as the financial angel in the Bolman suits, and the appeal to the Senate Committee for help against the union, must be considered as moves on the part of the companies to bring their attack against the union to a head and to deal it a crushing blow. Block's open bragging about his role is a sign that the employers feel themselves to be pretty strong.

The task of the union now is to mobilize all the power of the workers in Toledo for a showdown fight. In an open struggle between labor and its enemies, the workers can win, as the miners so dramatically demonstrated.

Morals of a Union Bureaucrat

By Ruth Johnson

Some of the most bureaucratic and reactionary union officials have joined the hue-and-cry against the "immorality" of the Marxists. They complain especially about union members who are forced to protect themselves against expulsion from the union and loss of jobs by concealing their radical political views and associations. It's not "moral," the red-baiting bureaucrats contend, for these unionists to make it harder to expel them on political grounds.

The very officials who complain loudest about this sort of "immorality" are often guilty of the vilest fraud and deception of their membership. But this kind of "morality" wins highest praise from the capitalist press.

Thus, the March 5 **N. Y. Times** drools over the achievements of Michael Quill, president-dictator of the CIO Transport Workers Union, who faithfully followed the Stalinist line for many years. In a special Magazine Section article sub-titled "Brains and Cunning Go With the TWU Leader's Playful Bluster — As His Communist Foes Learned." A. H. Raskin delightedly and approvingly describes some facts about how Quill deals with his opposition that shed considerable light on the "morality" of red-baiters like Quill.

On one occasion, Austin Hogan, president of New York's biggest TWU local and a leader of the Stalinist caucus, had called a meeting of 18 section chairmen to line up the anti-Quill forces. Asked by a henchman if he was going to the meeting, Quill said no — because "the fact is there won't be any meeting. I've just sent out 18 telegrams signed by Austin Hogan calling the meeting off." Another time, Raskin continues, Quill "called a meeting in Hogan's name, but through a 'regrettable oversight' neglected to tell Hogan about it." The men who received the "playful" message found the hall locked and were sore at Hogan. **Forgery is a favorite device of Quill's in fighting opposition.**

DECEIVES THE MEMBERS

Here is how Quill lined up the Omaha local in his camp in preparation for a TWU convention. The opposition was strong in the Omaha local, so Quill went there to take care of the situation personally. His first act was to issue a false leaflet to which he signed the names of oppositionists. This was a leaflet, says Raskin, "denouncing Quill and urging the Omaha local to repudiate his 'red-baiting' by affiliating to the AFL." **The hoodwinked members, loyal to the CIO, accepted the leaflet as genuine, and fearing the opposition really meant to split from the CIO, decided Quill was a lesser evil.**

To strengthen the deception of the membership, Quill went to the meeting and read a "telegram" which warned him to "stay out of Omaha if he knew what was good for him." It bore the signatures of 30 members of the local who had been supporting the opposition. These members got up and heatedly denied having sent the telegram; they assumed that national leaders of the opposition caucus had used their names without authority. Raskin writes, "It never occurred to anyone that the message might have been wired to Quill by one of his own confederates in Omaha."

While the meeting was still buzzing over this, another phony telegram sent by Quill arrived. This was signed with the name of Douglas L. MacMahon, TWU Secretary-Treasurer and opponent of Quill. It said that the International Executive Board intended to put the local under receivership. By the time a wire came from New York revealing that Quill's telegram was a fake, the delegates had been elected — naturally, Quill supporters. "But by that time no one could find a copy. It was last seen disappearing into Mike Quill's pocket."

Do Quill's lies, forgeries and misrepresentations to the membership offend the highly "moral" **N. Y. Times?** Just the contrary. For Quill, Raskin points out, is "eager to make his union responsible," that is, responsible to the bankers and capitalist politicians who control the city's transit system. Raskin advises the city officials and capitalist interests not to get excited when Quill resorts to a bit of radical-sounding demagogy now and then. He shows that Quill doesn't mean it, and is just trying to fool the union members some more.

"Quill finds it hard to understand the wrath of transit officials," writes Raskin, "when he denounces them publicly in sulphurous terms. 'Why does that bother you?' he asked one complaining executive. 'You know it's just for the record'."

This "morality" — that is, demagogic deception of the membership — makes Quill only a more ideal union leader in the eyes of the **Times.** It appeals for support of Quill and explains he is "going to need a lot of help. . . from the city authorities, the private transit companies." in quelling the militancy of the TWU membership and making them "responsible."

From the **Times** revelations about Quill, we can draw some conclusions about the "morality" of the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats as against the morality of the Marxist revolutionists. The Quills practice every kind of fraud against the workers and are "responsible" to the bosses; the Marxist morality consists of always telling the workers the truth and defending labor's interests, without consideration for the "morality" of the witch-hunting bosses and their agents, outside or inside the labor movement.

NEW YORK MEETING

"The British Elections"
Lecture by
PAUL G. STEVENS
Militant staff writer
Questions and Discussion
Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave.
(bet. 13 and 14 Sts.)
Sun., March 26, 8 P.M.
Admission 35c

NEWARK FORUM

ARTHUR WOOD
Militant Staff Member
Will speak on:
Who Is Winning the Cold War?
423 Springfield Ave.
(2 blocks above Bergen St.)
Fri., March 24 — at 8:30 P.M.

CHICAGO

BERT COCHRAN
Chairman, SWP Trade Union Comm.
will speak on
The Outlook for American Labor in 1950
—at—
Altgeld Hall
127 No. Dearborn, Rm. 744
Wed., March 29, 8 P.M.
Donation 50c